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ABSTRACT

Adult education for indigenous peoples in Brazil was examined. First, information on government institutions, indigenous organizations, international agencies, and nongovernmental organizations engaged in adult education for Brazil's indigenous peoples was compiled. Next, questionnaires and survey techniques were used to research the policy and practice of adult education for Brazil's indigenous peoples. Special attention was paid to the following topics: (1) national legislation on education for indigenous people; (2) institutions involved in adult education for indigenous peoples; (3) national and indigenous programs for adult education; and (4) current projects in adult education (bilingualism and interculturality, language issues, and gender issues). The study revealed a huge gap between the indigenous educational rights in Brazil's legislation and the educational rights actually enjoyed by Brazil's indigenous people. Not all Brazilian indigenous people want schooling in their own languages. The following priorities in the area of improving the adult education

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opportunities available to Brazil's indigenous peoples have been identified: (1) policies reinforcing specific training and making anthropological knowledge widely known among governmental agencies' staff responsible for monitoring and sanctioning indigenous school programs; (2) guarantees of indigenous parity and efficient representation in organizations in charge of defining and implementing education projects; and (3) adequate funding for indigenous education. (MN)

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ED 458 365

INTERNATIONAL SURVEY ON ADULT EDUCATION FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

COUNTRY STUDY : BRAZIL

Coordinator: Linda King

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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2000

ADULT EDUCATION AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN BRAZIL

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FOREWORD

In the debate and dialogue on indigenous education, the role of adult education in the context of indigenous peoples has come increasingly to the fore. At the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education held in Hamburg in 1997, indigenous peoples themselves participated actively both in the official delegations and in the drafting of the final recommendations. This was something new for international conferences. Although the theme of "indigenous peoples" is often on the agenda, the voice of those same people is often difficult to hear, being mediated by interlocutors, who often do not have the legitimacy to debate the issues. As a result of this active participation two key articles were included in the Hamburg Declaration.

Article 15

Diversity and equality. Adult learning should reflect the richness of cultural diversity and respect traditional and indigenous peoples' knowledge and systems of learning; the right to learn in the mother tongue should be respected and implemented. Adult education faces an acute challenge in preserving and documenting the oral wisdom of minority groups, indigenous peoples and nomadic peoples. In turn, intercultural education should encourage learning between and about different cultures in support of peace, human rights and fundamental freedoms, democracy, justice, liberty, coexistence and diversity.

Article 18

Indigenous education and culture. Indigenous peoples and nomadic peoples have the right of access to all levels and forms of education provided by the state. However, they are not to be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, or to use their own languages. Education for indigenous peoples and nomadic peoples should be linguistically and culturally appropriate to their needs and should facilitate access to further education and training.

But how to interpret these calls for action without a systematic and well founded base of information on adult education? What is the current state of affairs internationally with regard to adult education for indigenous peoples? How are different countries, and different regions tackling the issues? What are the problems, the programmes and the policies being put into place?

And how are indigenous peoples themselves becoming involved in the planning of their own educational futures?

To this end the UNESCO Institute for Education initiated in 1999 an international survey on adult education and indigenous peoples. From the outset, the survey was conceived as a participatory venture involving the views and perspectives of indigenous peoples themselves. A network of focal points was established and where possible these were indigenous organizations themselves, where this was not possible research centres close to indigenous organizations were involved as focal points.

The following focal points were involved from the outset:

Bolivia: PROEIB, Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingue para los Países Andinos. Principal researcher: Luis Enrique Lopez

Brazil: MARI, Grupo de Educação Indígena, University of Sao Paolo. Principal researcher: Aracy Lopes da Silva

Canada: University of Victoria. principal researcher: Philip Cook

Ecuador: PROEIB, Principal researcher: Alba Moya

Greenland: Inuit Circumpolar Conference, principal researcher: Carl Christian Olsen

Guatemala: The Rigoberta Menchu Foundation, principal researcher: Vilma Duque

India: Central Institute for Indian Languages . Principal researcher: Francis Ekka (deceased)

Mexico: CREFAL, Centro de Cooperación Regional para la Educación de Adultos en América Latina y el Caribe. Principal researcher: Mary Paz Valenzuela

New Zealand: Tania Rey, University of Wellington. Principal researcher: Tania Rey

Norway: Sami College, principal researcher: Svein Lund

Peru: PROEIB. Principal researcher: Madeleine Zuniga

Philippines: Cordillera Resource Center, principal researcher: Geraldine Fiagoy

Russia: Russian Academy of Science, principal researcher: Nina Mecshtyb

Thailand: IMPECT, Inner Mountain People Education and Culture in Thailand Association. Principal researcher Prassert Trakansuphakon.

USA: principal researcher: Patrick WeaselHead , consultant, Native American Education

The aim of the survey was to provide:

- A reference document for indigenous peoples to help them identify similarities and differences with regard to adult education policy as well as provision and participation patterns in different regions of the world.
- Recommendations and proposals for policy makers , international agencies and NGOs to develop new directions for adult education in cooperation with indigenous peoples.
- A theoretical and conceptual framework in which to place the discussion of adult education for indigenous peoples.[1]

In the first phase of the project the various focal points participating in the survey were responsible for compiling information on government institutions, indigenous organisations as well as international agencies and non-governmental organisations engaged in adult education for indigenous peoples in their region. This information has been separately compiled as well as featuring in the national monographs and appear under separate directories of indigenous education projects in both Spanish and English.

In the second phase, the focal points were involved on research on the policy and practice of adult education for indigenous peoples using questionnaires and survey techniques. Researchers participated in an international meeting held in the Headquarters of UNESCO in Paris in October 1999. This meeting while exchanging the different research findings also produced an international statement on their findings which was presented to the mid Decade review meeting on UNESCO's role in the World Decade for Indigenous Peoples held shortly after also in October 1999 and organised by the UNESCO Institute for Education together with the Division for Cultural Pluralism. A participating researcher was nominated from that meeting, Mr Carl Christian Olsen, to present the enlarged statement on educational and cultural needs of

[1] In this regard, UIE held a workshop on New Perspectives on Adult Education for Indigenous Peoples in 1997 in Mexico. See King, L. 1998 Reflecting Visions . New Perspectives on Adult Education and Indigenous Peoples. UNESCO Institute for Education and University of Waikato, New Zealand.

indigenous peoples to the General Conference of UNESCO in November 1999 in the Education and the Culture Commissions.

Research was undertaken with financial support from the Government of Norway and from DANIDA. The UNESCO Institute for Education gratefully acknowledges this support which made the participation of researchers around the world possible. I would like to thank in particular both the past director of the UNESCO Institute for Education, Paul Belanger, and the current director, Adama Ouane, for their support to the project, which has not been easy to coordinate internationally given the hard and difficult conditions under which indigenous peoples live and the nature of the geographical terrain which is often isolated and uncommunicated either by road or by telephone.

I am extremely grateful to all the participating researchers for their intelligent and informed research and their willingness to collect sometimes difficult information to obtain. Their commitment to the field of indigenous education has been inspiring.

I would like to single out the work of research assistant, Sabine Schielmann in helping in the coordination of the survey. She was also responsible for drafting the report on the UN agencies work on indigenous peoples and education and for producing the directory of indigenous oorganisations as well as making informed and valuable observations on the progress of the research and the editing of the final monographs. Sonja Schimann also participated as a part time research assistant for 6 months in 1999, and was responsible for organizing the international meeting, and for designing the home page for the survey.

In the production of the monographs themselves special credit has to go to Cendrine Sebastiani, whose unfailing good humour and inspired professionalism made them a reality.

Linda King

INTRODUCTION

This report is aimed at presenting an overview of the situation of adult education for indigenous peoples in Brazil[2], based on a significant, if not exhaustive, survey of projects in hand in this field. At present, most projects in this area comply with a conception of the indigenous right to intercultural, bilingual education, even though this may be understood in many different ways, leading to great disparities when it comes to practical experiences.

The idea that indigenous peoples have specific rights, differentiated from the non-indigenous population is stated in the Brazilian Constitution currently in force (promulgated in 1988), and is the fruit of mobilization of indigenous peoples and their allies in civil society. In accordance with what the Constitution prescribes, specific legislation and educational policies were elaborated and implemented from end of the '90s onwards. This official framework is novel and still quite heterogeneous in terms of practical efficiency, if we are to consider the country as a whole. It is based on experiences of the late '70s and the '80s, and conducted by specific indigenous peoples and grounded on original proposals from NGOs, universities or religious groups linked to the organized religions.

The new legislation, gave birth to an on-going, intense and increasing process of Indian teacher training and to the elaboration of bilingual, intercultural education projects, encompassing the unavoidable incorporation of the administrative government apparatus at all levels. Simultaneously, the indigenous movement has been developing its organization and new associations and organizations are being created.

As for public health, a similar process, also based on the rights granted by the 1988 Constitution, has been occurring: the Brazilian government health services have been increasingly mobilized for indigenous health care. Consequently, projects to train indigenous health agents, are nowadays more frequent and correspond to an important share of adult education for

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[2] The Brazilian section of this survey was carried by members of MARI-Indigenous Education Research Group at Universidade de São Paulo and partially financed by a grant from FAPESP (Proc. n. 94/3494-9) for the development of a research project on "Anthropology, History and Education: the Indigenous Issue and the School in Brazil" to which the UNESCO survey was articulated.

Thanks to all the collaborators who contributed with information, reports and published materials.

indigenous peoples in Brazil. With regard to both health and education, the activities of universities, churches and indigenous organizations and NGOs committed to respect indigenous rights to the specificity and autonomy of their identities, cultures and policies has been crucial in the whole process.

This report will develop these general ideas, presenting further information on each single aspect mentioned in this initial summary. Before this, however, it will bring forward basic information on how this survey was conducted in Brazil. It will also briefly present the indigenous peoples whose current experiences in adult education are here considered.

The Research in Brazil

The information was collected in three steps. The first consisted of a survey in the archives of the federal government's main institutions and of some of the biggest and most important non-governmental institutions involved in this field in Brazil. These archives contain copies of current projects and further information. We then sought to identify and locate not only indigenous organizations but also any group supporting the indigenous cause or operating in the field of education for youth and adults in general, which may be working with indigenous peoples. The third step was devoted to contact both the selected 250 organizations involved in education, be they indigenous, governmental, non-governmental, religious or academic, and consultants and individuals, direct advisors of adult education projects for indigenous peoples. Questionnaires were sent and an important number of coordinators or participants in specific projects of adult education for indigenous peoples directly responded to them. Our research team, based on the material encountered in the archives, filled other questionnaires. Personal contacts were necessary in most cases in order to persuade the participants to fill out the questionnaires.

Regardless of the fact that no more than 20% of the sent questionnaires were returned, this methodology allowed us to gather information on approximately 70 projects. Possibly, many of the indigenous or governmental organizations contacted through mail do not have any project in adult education of their own and thus did not answer. But they were mentioned as financial supporters or pedagogical or administrative collaborators in projects run by non-governmental or indigenous organizations. On the other hand, many projects might be in progress without our

knowledge. Still, information on the biggest and most important programmes is now available here. The general outcome is also representative of regional variations: as the attached map shows, the filled questionnaires cover the whole country. This report is then based on a sufficiently wide sample of projects and on solid data, which allows us to assess preliminarily the situation of educational services for indigenous adults in Brazil.

The data compiled here had never been systematized before, in Brazil. The information on adult education for indigenous peoples is scattered, and this obstructed the research. Archives do have data on indigenous education in its broadest sense, but there has never been any particular concern with regard to adult education for indigenous peoples as such in Brazil as far as data collection, educational policies or academic debates are concerned. So far, these two fields - adult education and education for indigenous peoples - have shown little convergence, being envisaged as fairly independent, as if they did not intersect. Professional training for indigenous teachers and health agents is the core area where both fields overlap although it is hardly conceived of as "adult education for indigenous peoples". For this reason, such a label has not yet been used in Brazil as a criterion under which systematically organized data can be found, either in governmental, non-governmental or indigenous organizations. Systematization might be found at micro-regional or local level, but nothing that may remind of a more global framework.Therefore this is the novelty brought about by this research.

Both the huge size of Brazil and the consequent communication difficulties, and the fact that 210 highly diversified indigenous peoples live in Brazil must be taken into consideration. Different segments of a given people may live in distinct lands, and can therefore have various independent projects. Despite the significant number of indigenous associations in the country, our information on most of them is limited to their name and region: we do not even know what their address is or how to get in touch with them.

Most projects are faced with discontinuity problems, financial difficulties or delays in their development. Except for big, older and already consolidated projects, usually carried out by NGOs, the general framework varies a lot. Many different types of organizations operate simultaneously in a given region or together with various segments of the same indigenous population. They might maintain reciprocal relationships either of dispute or of partial cooperation; they may even be working hand in hand. In other regions, there might not be any

programmes of adult education whatsoever. Data on non-formal education or incidental learning - both are aspects of adult education according to the CONFITEA definition - were not provided by the respondants to the questionnaires on which this report is based. Nevertheless, such processes are widespread among Brazilian indigenous peoples, especially in the fields of economics and law and/or political experiences relating to the indigenous peoples' movements for ethnic rights. Information on such processes is usually scattered and inconstant in academic reports and dissertations, or in such documents as project proposals originated from indigenous or non-governmental organizations and press publications. Many of these data are implicit and a different survey would be necessary to collect them.

This report therefore presents a preliminary and incomplete attempt at systematization. It requires assessment, correction and completion from those engaged in the specific projects and will demand continuous improvement. Notwithstanding its present limitations, the information gathered provides us with an overall picture of the current Brazilian situation, to distinguish trends, and perspectives, and thus to promote a debate, a reflection and a comparison with other parts of the world, in order to better attend to indigenous peoples' expectancies, necessities and claims with regard to their youth and adult education.

Indigenous Peoples in Brazil

Two hundred and ten indigenous peoples are currently dwelling in Brazil, out of which approximately 57% are represented in this research, totaling 119 different peoples living in villages and territories all over the country.

The great diversity prevailing among them applies to every single aspect of their lives: language; demography; social organization; economics and politics; history; intensity and quality of interethnic contacts with non-indigenous segments of the Brazilian population; degree of information available about the Brazilian society and about their own rights as Brazilian citizens; commitment level in the indigenous movement and organization to face the Brazilian state; degree of political and economical autonomy as well as the quality and quantity of information about the world's situation and the global economy.

Such diversity is reflected in this survey and invalidates any attempt to outline the main characteristics of each of the peoples here mentioned. An approximate idea of the differences between these peoples can be outlined adding that approximately 180 indigenous languages are currently spoken in Brazil. These linguistic differences are coupled with differences regarding social and political organization, ecological standards, economical activities, cosmological and philosophical conceptions. Moreover, some forest peoples have had no more than 30 years of continuous contact with non-Indians whereas others, living in different parts of the country, have been in contact for 200, 300, or 500 years; some communities live in small villages in the forest while others live in urban centers; some economies are based on hunting, gathering, perhaps some agriculture, whereas others are articulated to the global market; some peoples have extended, consolidated political experience in the constitution of associations and projects aimed at their autonomy to tackle regional, national or international contexts, while others have hardly begun to collect information about those universes.

Handling such diverse situations and processes could only be possible, in this report, through oversimplifications and distortions, which would not bring the reader any closer to the indigenous peoples here mentioned. To avoid a simplified and incorrect presentation of the peoples whose educational projects are taken into consideration here, the reader is invited to refer to the website of the Brazilian NGO "Instituto Socioambiental" where all basic, dependable information available can be found: www.socioambiental.org

A list of the indigenous peoples on which this survey gathered information follows, first according to the regions (and states) where they live; then in alphabetical order.

NORTHERN BRAZIL:

Amazonas (AM):

Baniwa (AM);
Baré (AM);
Kanamari (AM);
Katukina (AM);
Mundurukú(AM);
Sateré-Mawé (AM);
Tikuna (AM);
Tukano (AM);
Yanomami (AM).

Amapá (AP):

Aparai (AP);
Wayana (AP);
Tiryió (AP);
Kaxuyana (AP);
Palikúr (AP);
Waiãpi (AP).

Pará (PA):

Kayapó-Xikrin (PA);
Mundurukú(PA).

Maranhão(MA):

Pykobiê)-Gavião (MA);
Krikati(MA);
Kanela(Apãniekra/Ramkokamekra) (MA);
Pykobiê (MA);
Guajajara (MA);
Urubu-Kaapor ka'apoté (MA);
Tembé (MA);
Werekena (MA).

Roraima (RR):

Yanomami(RR).

Acre (AC):

Apurinã(AC);
Kaxináua (AC);
Kaxarari (AC);
Poyanawa (AC);
Kulina (AC);
Jaminawa (AC);
Yamanawa (AC);
Manchineri(AC);
Shawadawa (AC);
Shawanawa (AC);
Manchineri (AC);
Katukina (AC).

SOUTHEASTERN BRAZIL:

Minas Gerais (MG):

Maxacali (MG);
Xakriabá(MG);
Pataxó (MG);
Krenak(MG).

Espírito Santo (ES):

Tupinikim (ES).

Rio of Janeiro (RJ):

Guarani (RJ).

São Paulo (SP):

Krenak (SP);
Guarani-Mbyá (SP);
Guarani-Nhandeva (SP);
Pankararu (SP);
Terena (SP);
Kaingang (SP).

CENTRALBRAZIL:

Mato Grosso of the Sul (MS):

Guarani-Kaiowá (MS);
Guarani-Mbyá (MS);
Terena (MS);
Tapayuna.

Mato Grosso (MT):

Akwe-Xavante (MT);
Apiaká (MT);
Bakairi (MT);
Bororo (MT);
Irantxe (MT);
Kayabi (MT);
Kayapó-Mebengokre (MT);
Kayapó-Métuktyre (MT);
Matipuy/Nahukwá (MT);
Nambikwara (MT);
Panará (MT).
Paresi (MT);
Rikbaktsa (MT);
Tapirapé(MT);
Umutina (MT);
Waurá (MT)

Tocantins (TO):

Akwe-Xerente (TO);
Apinajé (TO);
Krahó (TO);
Xambioá (TO);
Karajá (TO).

Rondônia (RO):

Aikaná (RO);
Amondawa (RO);
Arara (RO);
Aruá (RO);
Ayru (RO);
Cinta-Larga (RO);
Jabuti (RO);
Karitiana (RO);
Makurap (RO);
Suruí (RO);
Tupari;Kassupá (RO);
Wa'ri (Pakaas-New) (RO).

NORTHEASTERN BRAZIL:

Bahia (BA):

Kiriri (BA);
Pataxó (BA);
Kantaruré (BA);
Kaimbé (BA);
Pankararé (BA);
Pataxó Hãhãhãi (BA);
Xukuru-Kariri (BA);
Tuxá(BA);
Non-Indians of Olivença (BA);
Pankaru (BA).

Ceará(CE):

Tremembé of Almofala (CE);
Potiguara (CE);
Tabajara (CE);

Kalabaça (CE);
Xukuru ofOrorubá (CE).

Pernambuco (PE):

Fulni-ô (PE);
Kambiwá(PE);
Pankararu (PE);
Truká (PE);
Xucuru (PE).

Alagoas (AL):

Tinguí-Botó (AL);
Kariri-Xocó (AL);
Geripankó (AL);
Kariri-Xokó (AL);
Wassu (AL);
Xukuru-Kariri (AL).

SOUTHERN BRAZIL:

Paraná (PR):

Kaingang (PR);
Guarani (PR).

Rio Great of the Sul (RS)

Kaingang (RS);
Guarani (RS).

In alphabetical order:

Aikaná (RO); Akwe-Xavante (MT); Akwe-Xerente (TO);Amondawa (RO); Aparai (AP); Apiaká (MT); Apinajé (TO); Apurinã(AC); Arara (RO); Aruá (RO); Ayru (RO); Bakairi (MT); Baniwa (AM);Baré (AM); Bororo (MT); Cinta-Larga (RO); Fulni-ô (PE); Geripankó(AL); Guajajara (MA); Guarani (PR); Guarani (RJ); Guarani (RS);Guarani-Mbyá (SP); Guarani-Nhandeva (SP); Guarani-Kaiowá (MS);Guarani-Mbyá (MS); Non-Indians of Olivença (BA); Irantxe (MT); Jabuti(RO); Jaminawa (AC); Kaimbé (BA); Kaingang (PR); Kaingang (RS);Kaingang (SP); Kalabaça (CE); Kambiwá (PE); Kanamari (AM);Kanela (Apãniekra/Ramkokamekra) (MA); Kantaruré (BA); Karajá (TO);Kariri-Xocó (AL); Kariri-Xokó (AL); Karitiana (RO); Katukina (AM);Katukina (AC); Kaxarari (AC); Kaxináua (AC); Kaxuyana (AP); Kayabi(MT); Kayapó-Mebengokre (MT); Kayapó-Metuktyre (MT);Kayapó-Xikrin (PA); Kiriri (BA); Krahó

(TO); Krenak (SP); Krenak(MG); Krikati (MA); Kulina (AC); Makurap (RO);Manchineri (AC); Matipuy/Nahukwá (MT); Maxacali (MG); Mundurukú (AM);Mundurukú (PA); Nambikwara (MT); Palikúr (AP); Panará (MT);Pankararé (BA); Pankararu (PE); Pankararu (SP); Pankaru (BA);Paresi (MT); Pataxó (BA); Pataxó (MG); PataxóHãhãhãi (BA); Potiguara (CE); Poyanawa (AC); Pykobjê-Gavião(MA); Rikbaktsa (MT); Sateré-Mawé (AM); Shawadawa (AC); Shawanawa(AC); Suruí (RO); Tabajara (CE);Tapayuna; Tapirapé (MT); Tembé(MA); Terena (MS); Terena (SP); Tikuna (AM); Tinguí-Botó(AL); Tiryió (AP); Tremembé of Almofala (CE); Truká (PE); Tukano(AM); Tupari;Kassupá (RO); Tupinikim (ES); Tuxá (BA); Umutina (MT); Urubu-Kaapor ka'apoté (MA); Wa'ri (Pakaas-New) (RO);Waiãpi (AP); Wassu (AL); Waurá (MT); Wayana (AP);Werekena;Xakriabá (MG); Xambioá (TO); Xucuru (PE); Xukuru of Ororubá (CE); Xukuru-Kariri (AL); Xukuru-Kariri (BA); Yamanawa (AC);Yanomami (AM); Yanomami (RR).

NATIONAL LEGISLATION ON EDUCATION FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Up to 1988 indigenous peoples in Brazil were under the guardianship of the State, being considered as partially capable (according to the juridical standpoint) and were entitled to the State's assistance through tutelage. The general trend of the Brazilian indigenous policy at the time explicitly expressed in the legal texts was assimilationist: the State's actions were aimed at an inexorable "integration" of the Indians into the Brazilian community. In 1988, as the current Federal Constitution was ratified, the indigenous movement was already prominent on the Brazilian scene; it presented its own claims and an increasing capacity to organize and articulate politically, and even with other sectors of civil society.

This new Constitution put an end to the guardianship regime and acknowledged indigenous claims, among which their right to full citizenship without losing their distinctive cultural and linguistic characteristics. The Law refers to indigenous peoples in various sections, recognizing

their collective and specific rights. Among them, one must highlight the preamble (*caput*) of article 231 and 232, under Title VIII: "Social Order", Chapter "The Indians":

> *Article 231*- 1: The social organization, customs, languages, beliefs and traditions and their original rights over lands they traditionally occupy, is recognized. It corresponds to the Union to demarcate them, to protect and respect all their assets
>
> *Article 232*: Indians, their communities, and organizations have the right to defend their interests, through the office of the Public Attorney's.

Brazilian legislation thus recognizes the collective rights of indigenous peoples, among which we will stress,

> the right to their own territory and natural resources there existing, the right to decide their history, identity, political and social institutions, and the right to develop their own philosophical and religious conceptions in an autonomous way. (...) The state is not anymore to protect the (transitory) existence of the indigenous communities, but rather to efficiently contribute to reaffirm and valorize their cultures and languages[3]

With regard to education, the Brazilian Constitution affirms, in its article 210: "*Minimum curricula shall be established for elementary school in order to ensure a common basic education and respect for national and regional cultural and artistic values*". In its paragraph II one can read: "*Regular elementary education shall be given in the Portuguese language, the Indian communities also being ensured the use of their native languages and specific learning procedures.*"

In accordance with the principles established in the Constitution, a specific legislation on education was ratified in 1996. As for the indigenous educational rights, the *Lei de Diretrizes e*

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[3] (Cf. "Os direitos dos povos indígenas naatualidade" ("The rights of the indigenous peoples in the present"). In: *Referencial Curricular Nacional para as Escolas Indígenas*, Ministry of Education, Brasília, DF,1998)

Bases (LDB - Basis and Guidelines Act) for the Brazilian Education affirms the indigenous right to a bilingual, intercultural education. According to the Act, this is to be ensured through:

> 1° helping the Indians, their communities and peoples regain their historical memories, affirm their ethnical identities and valorize their languages and sciences;
>
> 2° protecting the Indian communities and peoples, their access to the information, technical and scientific knowledge of the Brazilian Society as well as other societies, be they indigenous or not (Article 78 of Title VIII "*General Provisions*").

It also affirms that it is the Union's duty

> to support technically and financially the teaching systems in order to provide intercultural education to the indigenous communities, developing integrated programmes for teaching and research"

which goals will be to:

> 1° strengthen each indigenous community's sociocultural practices and mother tongue;
>
> 2° maintain training programmes for specialized staff, intended to academic education in the indigenous communities;
>
> 3°, develop curricula and specific programmes including the cultural contents corresponding to the respective communities;
>
> and 4°, systematically elaborate and publish specific and differentiated didactic material.

Article 87 of the same Act (LDB) is also worth mentioning. It deals with the training and empowerment of all teachers in practice -be they indigenous or not - since it is quite common, especially in inland Brazil or in small cities from remote regions, that teachers have inadequate or incomplete training. Formal and complete training of all teachers is defined, in this article, as an obligation of the Federal State (Union), of the states and *municípios*. A specific paragraph in the same article establishes that by the end of the Decade of Education only people who graduated from University or went through on-the-job training will be allowed to work as teachers. Many projects of adult education for indigenous peoples described in this research correspond to officially acknowledged processes for on-the-job Indian teachers training. Some Federal Universities are involved in creating teacher training courses at university level, specifically for

indigenous teachers. Two important cases to be mentioned are those of the Federal University of MatoGrosso and that of the University of Amazonas.

The Brazilian Council for Education is in charge of the structure and operation of indigenous schools, drawing out their specificity as compared to the regular, non-indigenous schools. This is an important topic since difficulties in understanding the extension of the Indian's legal rights to an intercultural, bilingual education, on the part of local and regional government officials, have been constant hindrances to the creation of differentiated indigenous schools and educational projects. The official acknowledgement of their differentiated schools and educational projects is something Indian peoples have requested for a long time, so that they can continue in their studies at University level. Technical and University courses are not offered in indigenous lands. The articulation between village schools (and Indian teachers training) and these other, non-indigenous schools is crucial so that indigenous people may have access to University education also.

The Brazilian Council for Education establishes, among other things, that the basic elements for the definition and operation of the "indigenous schools" are that:

> they are located on indigenous lands (...); they offer educational services to the indigenous communities; they use the mother tongues in the teaching-apprenticeship process, taking into account the sociolinguistic reality of each society; they respect their own social organization and consider their forms of social structure, their traditions, their knowledge production forms and own apprenticeship; (...); they formulate pedagogic projects differentiated according to each indigenous school or people, with the participation of the respective community; they organize school activities in proper periods, that may not correspond to the calendar year but be structured upon different times,respecting the course of their economic activities, rituals, and other social and cultural manifestations; they use pedagogic materials elaborated in accordance with the sociocultural context of each indigenous people; they rely mainly on indigenous teachers originating from the respective ethnic group..

Needless to say, the principles for an intercultural, bilingual indigenous education are clear and quite well incorporated into the Brazilian legislation. Although there are no specific laws on indigenous adult education, this general legislation on indigenous schools implicitly responds to

the issue of Indian teacher training (and, indirectly, to that of other indigenous professionals serving their communities, as health agents and forestry technicians).

There is still a long way to go with regard these principles and legal rights. Terms and expressions (such as "sociocultural contexts", "sociolinguistic reality" or"own pedagogic projects", among others) arising in fora or specialized discussions and then incorporated into the legislation are not uniformly understood and, although a certain homogeneity prevails in the discourse and terms used with regard to indigenous education in Brazil, concrete experiences reveal significant variations as regards the meanings ascribed to these terms and expressions which usage is"compulsory".

It seems that, whenever these terms and expressions pass from small-scale, concrete experiences of specific NGO projects aimed at autonomy, and become part of the official discourse and texts (legal texts and documents defining public policies) before eventually being incorporated into the everyday world of the bureaucracy (especially within the state and municipal education agencies), and are disseminated and widely publicized, these terms and expressions suffer a certain loss of their initial meaning.

Since both the indigenous participation and interest in education are great, information on the rights and possibilities to elaborate projects tends to circulate quite quickly. Brazil has thus witnessed a constant increase in the number of projects while the indigenous organizations/peoples and their non-Indian advisors (educators, anthropologists, NGO members, etc) have been exerting more and more pressure on the still scarce funding sources. Based on these local experiences the Indian movement has put pressure and stimulated the government authorities, sensitizing them to the specificity of indigenous education and to the peculiarities of the training of Indian professionals (main field of the indigenous adult education in Brazil). Between the general plan of the legislation and official texts elaborated in federal instances and the dynamism and creativity of concrete, local experiences, lies a wide field occupied by local and regional administrative officials, funding agencies, potential advisors, universities superior instances etc., that are to be better informed. The concrete experiences with Indian adult education mentioned here are part of this wider movement aiming at the implementation of full indigenous educational rights in Brazil.

INSTITUTIONS INVOLVED IN ADULT EDUCATION FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

According to the data gathered in this research, most adult education projects for indigenous peoples in Brazil concern Indian teachers and indigenous health agents training courses. Less numerous are the programmes for the empowerment of environmental technical experts. Little is known about specific projects aimed at teaching adults how to read and write; yet, some sporadic classes in elementary schools do exist on Indian lands although they have continuity problems.

Indigenous organizations (around 290, altogether), the Federal institutions, NGOs (some 70 were identified through the documentation gathered), universities and religious missions all operate in the field of indigenous adult education. The indigenous organizations are relatively novel in the country and their projects usually encompass the advice of professionals. The joint work of some of them and of advisors from universities, progressive missions or NGOs yielded some of the most significant intercultural, bilingual education experiences, in the last 15-20 years, in indigenous areas. They helped define most of what was included in the Brazilian legislation and public policies as regards indigenous school education.

The education programmes for adults are a direct consequence of wider projects aimed at building differentiated, specific indigenous schools. In the same way, projects dedicated to indigenous health care promoted by indigenous communities and organizations under the supervision of NGOs, religious missions and universities have led to training projects for indigenous health workers. More recently, and on the same basis, self-sustained development and forestry management projects have been proposed to or by indigenous peoples together with the training of indigenous technicians.

Among the religious missions, in a broad sense, two contrasting action lines stand out:

(a) evangelical missions, whose work with adult education is founded on the SIL models (training Indian teachers for bilingual transition);

(b) missions committed to a political work aiming at indigenous peoples' self-determination and at the valorization of their languages and cultures, established on the bilingual, intercultural education model.

No information that could be included in this report was provided on type (a).

Budget information is rare and, at best, fragmentary. Yet, it is possible to work on the information gathered from the sample of questionnaires at hand. The framework is extremely diversified, ranging from projects operating with no budget and beneficent work to well-structured projects, with many years of experience and efficient fundraising techniques. Most questionnaires answered do not state total values or name the origin of the grants funding their projects. Still, the information available allows us to assume that the biggest funding agencies are foreign NGOs, some state governments and the Brazilian Federal government.

The Brazilian Federal government effectively spent the total amount of R$ 5,506,260.13 (approximately US$ 3,059,033.40 by an average exchange rate for 1999) in 1999, and in 1998 the total amount of R$3,043,801.49 (approximately the same value in US$ according to the exchange rate of 1998, that is, US$ 3,043,801.49), in indigenous education.[4] There is no indication with regard to which specific governmental agencies spent that money. Nevertheless, the information is important because it shows how much the Brazilian Federal government invested in indigenous education (in general) in the last two years.

In this context it is also relevant to note that no specific work programmes on adult education for indigenous peoples are mentioned in that data system. That means that administratively and for accounting purposes there is no specification of this field - adult education for indigenous peoples. All that is mentioned is "school education for indigenous peoples/indigenous school education". This seems to be a reflection of the incipiency of this field in Brazil. As it is so little developed as a field of debate and action in itself it does not appear in the national budget or in the SIAFI data as a specific item.

The participation of the Ministry of Education is important and very comprehensive: it reaches a significant number of projects all around Brazil, although grants do not exceed an average of US$ 9,500 per year per project, according to the information available to the moment (official information was insistently requested from the Ministry of Education, from May to October 1999. No information has been provided). Funding from the Ministry of Health - through

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[4] Source: SIAFI- Sistema Integrado de Administração Financeira da Administração Pública Federal [Integrated System of Financial Administration of Brazil's Federal Public Administration]

its associate agency, the National Health Foundation, is also extremely important for indigenous health agents training courses.

With regard to the funded projects, the main trend consists in applying for grants from various national governmental and/or NGOs (national or, most often, foreign) agencies. Most grants come from foreign countries, especially from the EC as a whole but also from Norway, Holland, and Spain in particular. In addition to 'Rainforest', one of the most cited foreign funding agencies, there are also references to the UNICEF and the *Amerindia Cooperación*. A huge state project for indigenous teacher training is part of the commitments assumed by the Mato Grosso government to obtain a World Bank loan for their regional development ("*Project Tucum*").

As for the project budgets, the questionnaires bring forward even less data. The projects themselves differ much in size: they range from projects in initial and experimental stages, aimed at forming 5 or 6 indigenous teachers, to those gathering up to 220-260 or more teachers training to obtain teacher credential for elementary schools. The grants declared consistently vary from US$2,500 to US$ 102,000 per year. It emerges from this that well-established projects, showing continuity and good results along the past years, have been allocated an average of US$ 37,000 to 40,000 per year.

National and Federal Agencies/Institutions

Within the federal government, Ministries directly involved in indigenous populations education are the Ministry of Education and Sports (MEC), the Ministry of Justice (through the *Fundação Nacional do Índio* - FUNAI [Brazilian Foundation for the Indians]) and the Ministry of Health (through the *Fundação Nacional de Saúde* - FNS [Brazilian Foundation for Health]). These federal agencies deal with the funding of programmes developed on a local basis, with their monitoring and with the definition of the general outlines for the policies to be developed and for the thrust to be followed in specific actions. At State's level, the state agencies for education, FUNAI's regional administrations and FNS' regional administrations, act in specific programmes, coordinating, following up or intervening directly in the education activities, alongside with indigenous organizations, NGOs, universities or churches and religious missions. At the local level are the municipalities, through their municipal agencies for education and health, which are active in the indigenous education projects, especially with regard to the

training of Indian teachers and of indigenous health agents, the two areas aggregating the projects aimed at adult Indians.

The total federal budget for indigenous education programmes is the sum of the budgets of the three agencies directly involved in this field. As we already mentioned, the Ministry of Education refused to communicate any budget data that might be included in this report. The only data that could be located in the archive documents concerns the expense prevision of the Ministry of Education for indigenous education in 1996, which amounts to US$ 108,000. FUNAI's budget for indigenous education in general (exclusive grants for adult education are not specified) was US$ 832,320 in 1996; US$1,220,000 in 1997, and US$ 1,424,000 in 1998. Here it is important to mention that the United Nations Development Programme -UNDP- is a major financial source for the Ministry of Education's special programmes on indigenous teachers training and for publications of books and texts in indigenous languages.

Regardless of their belonging to private or public institutions, educational programmes not specifically designed for indigenous peoples are theoretically (and in practice as well, in many cases) available to Indians, depending on how well they master the Portuguese language, on what their schooling background is, and on whether or not they may have access to the place where such programmes are developed. It is thus still quite difficult, for the time being, to state more accurate data than this broad assertion, since there is no notice of any specific survey in this matter.

In operational terms, although the government policies follow federal guidelines, they are organized in a decentralized way, through state governments and City Halls. The Ministry of Education manages and defines guidelines for the indigenous school education in Brazil. They do not coordinate any federal programme in a centralized way. Since 1994, the Ministry has a funding line for indigenous teachers training courses and for the publication of didactic materials in native languages (usually elaborated by the teachers trained) to attend indigenous associations, universities, non-governmental organizations and the state education departments. The anwers to our questionnaires show that available financial resources in recent years have proven insufficient to meet the demand of indigenous peoples in the educational field.

Within the Ministry of Education there is a consultative organ, the *Comitê Nacional de Educação Indígena* (National Indigenous Education Committee), composed of representatives from the government, indigenous peoples (geographically represented by regions), the civil society and the international agencies. Although it was quite productive in 1993 and 1994, it has gradually lost its sphere of activity in the government. Though it still officially exists in the current Federal Government policies and is composed of nominees, the Committee is currently not active. The MEC also counts upon a body of academic consultants to whom it recurs in order to assess the projects requesting funding from the Ministry. The MEC's internal authority for the indigenous schools is the *Coordenação Geral de Apoio às Escolas Indígenas* (General Coordination Supporting the Indigenous Schools), which is in charge of thefollow-up of these projects and of the implementation of this agency's policies.

Up until 1991, FUNAI was the only agency responsible for indigenous education and health care services for the Brazilian native peoples. From that year on, a decree from the then President of Brazil transferred these functions to the MEC (for education) and the FNS (for health). Nowadays, the FUNAI, as the federal organ in charge of dealing with the indigenous population in Brazil is responsible for supporting specific projects with grants, for specialists in intercultural education, for assessing the training/empowerment actions for indigenous teachers undertaken by the Education Department and the NGOs. They maintain a "*Programa de Apoio à Escolarização de Estudantes Indígenas na 2ª fase do Ensino Fundamental, Ensino Médio eSuperior*" (Support Programme for Indigenous Student Schooling in the second phase of the Basic, Secondary and Higher Education). This is aimed at promoting actions enforcing the continuity of studies in urban center schools, and for Indian students who used up all their schooling possibilities in their villages. It is associated with other institutions as regards the realization of Indian teacher training courses. It includes an Education Department, based in Brasília and education divisions in their regional headquarters.

FNS is the federal organ in charge of the indigenous health worker training, through approbation, partial funding and project supervision. It is also in charge of the elaboration of the "*Política Brasileira de Saúde das Populações Indígena*" (Brazilian Health Policy for Indigenous Populations), implemented through the "*Coordenação de Saúde do Indio -COSAI*" (Coordination for Indians' Health). Its expressed goal is to "*reinforce access of indigenous peoples to integral*

health care, taking into consideration their social, historical and cultural characteristics and their epidemiological situation, respecting their traditional health systems". An important part of this policy is the training of indigenous health agents, through specific courses and on-the-job training, under the supervision of non-indigenous professional instructors, together with the strengthening of the traditional health systems.

The efforts to empower and develop indigenous human resources in the sphere of health are justified. Initial estimates from FNS - shown on the Foundation's website (www.fns.gov.br) - point to the existence of approximately 2,000 indigenous health agents, "*70% of whom work on their own, without supervision and do not have any proper infrastructure at their disposal for the provision of services.*" As regards educational background, 50% never completed basic education (eight years) and 5% are illiterate. This situation is faced by the *Programa de Agentes Indígenas de Saúde* (Program of indigenous health agents), which is aimed at guaranteeing continuous training, through the articulation of programmes for indigenous education. This Programme offers basic professional education, with a possibility to proceed to a technical level. Although it is managed by the FNS, it is the outcome of the contribution of a great number of institutions (NGOs, Universities, Indigenous Associations, etc) with a long experience in projects for indigenous communities. New legislation for teaching (*Lei de Diretrizes e Bases* [LDB - Basis and Guidelines Act]) allows that officially acknowledged degrees be offered to adult and young Indians taking part in the Programme.

In 1999, programme priorities included training in sanitation and emergency training for the indigenous health agents. Courses and monitoring were carried out in partnership with organizations and institutions from civil society and the indigenous movement. The Programme as a whole is still being implemented, and is better consolidated in certain regions than in others. As in the case of the teacher training courses, the experience accumulated by these non-official agencies is crucial to the definition and implantation of public policies. It is the FNS official policy to support such local projects through partnerships. In accordance with the decentralization model, state and municipal agencies participate in the execution of the Programme.

At a federal level, the Education Secretaries coordinate, through legal determination, *Núcleos de Educação Indígena* (NEIs, Indigenous Education Nuclei, comprised of representatives of the Education Departments, Indian teachers, non-Indian educators, representatives of

universities and local NGOs acting at the level of regional indigenous communities). The *Secretarias Estaduais de Saúde* (State Health Departments) can participate in the empowerment programmes for indigenous health workers. FUNAI's regional administrations are in charge of the supervision and may collaborate in the execution of specific projects promoted by either the Indians themselves or other organizations. These authorities, which operate at regional level, are most directly associated with the implementation of such educational projects for the youth and adults such as courses, meetings and workshops aimed at both empowerment and the production of didactic materials or of materials designed to prevent epidemics (Sexually Transmitted Diseases-AIDS, for example). In the state of Bahia, an important project aimed at training indigenous health agents is in progress.

At the local level - *municípios* -, City Halls and municipal departments are responsible whereas in indigenous territories and in villages Indigenous Posts (FUNAI's administrative base units) are responsible, to which some of the indigenous schools are administratively linked. City Halls are often responsible for hiring Indian teachers for the bilingual village schools, and for catering food and school materials. Those very teachers, usually trainees, are the audience at which the empowerment courses for teacher credential are aimed.

At each administrative level, it is possible, and often an effective practice, to maintain agreements with NGOs, Universities, indigenous organizations and religious missions (Catholics, acting together with Dioceses and Prelacies; or Protestants, organized in coordination). Usually, these are non-governmental organizations with an historically accumulated expertise in dealing with indigenous education and health. Government agencies depend on them for specialized staff, ideas, proposals, etc.There are exceptions, such as the states of Mato Grosso and Minas Gerais, that maintain significant programmes to train Indian teachers for a differentiated, intercultural and bilingual education or the state of Amapá that maintains a General Education Equivalency course for the basic education of Indian youth and adults, among other examples.

The difficulties, though, are significant.The grants allocated by the government are still quite modest when compared to the real needs and demands. Problems concerning the projects funding continuity sometimes entail the discontinuity of programmes. Another serious problem is the lack of staff prepared to manage and follow up indigenous school education in government

spheres. All the experience gathered in Brazil with regard to bilingual, intercultural education responding to cultural specificity and to the political projects of indigenous peoples is concentrated in the hands of indigenous organizations, NGOs, progressive missions and universities. Many alternative lines of action lines exist in that universe, and vary according to the profile of the agencies involved, although dialogues and joint actions are common practice and the principles are jointly accepted. Such is the realm where the government seeks assistance to define their actions, either in the normative field, in terms of programme definition, or in the elaboration of official documents defining specific policies. Yet, the final decisions usually escape these advisors' control as soon as they become government decisions.

At the federal government level, very few employees are familiar with the theme. Although some initiatives have been taken in order to acquaint the staff with the educational rights of indigenous peoples at the Ministry of Education and other government levels (states and *municípios*), the situation is still worrying. Only specific training would help this personnel to properly comprehend what a "differentiated indigenous education" might be and overcome secular prejudices and situations of absolute ignorance of what indigenous peoples, their cultures, ways of being, living and thinking might be.

An additional problem relates to the turnover of employees in charge of the indigenous schools in the states and *municípios*: all the investment in individual training vanishes in frequent substitutions. The already mentioned NEIs or other interethnic authorities (such as the *Conselho de Educação Indígenado Estado de Mato Grosso* [Indigenous Education Council of the State of Mato Grosso]) help minimizing this situation, in the states where they are acknowledged and have gained autonomy of action and strong indigenous representation. In many cases, governments vehemently resist an Indian/non-Indian parity of representation in official organs or authorities in charge of indigenous education (as it is the case in São Paulo, among other states).

Some state departments develop their own strongly supported projects for bilingual, intercultural education (as those mentioned above of Minas Gerais and Mato Grosso) or are fine-tuned to experienced NGOs, and officialize differentiated schools (as in Acre, Bahia, Amapá and Mato Grosso-Xingu region)). Usually, though, such initiatives are sporadic, partial, in terms of the training areas comprehended, and are faced with continuity problems. In Northern Brazil and

Northeastern Amazonas, some mayors and at least a Secretary of Education are Indians relying on the support of their peoples (as, respectively, the *municípios* of Oiapoque, in the state of the Amapá, and that of São Gabriel da Cachoeira, in the state of Amazonas). Again, diversity prevails.

The same applies to indigenous participation in decision-making and project implementation. Whenever the indigenous organizations are powerful, or their partnership with non-governmental assistants is firm, and whenever some historical experience is accumulated through the implementation and critical reflection on indigenous education, Indian participation in the design, implementation and assessment of projects is significantly higher. All of the projects portrayed in the questionnaires answered reveal the participation of Indians at each stage. Many of them were created in response to direct demands of specific indigenous communities. Significant national decisions related to the definition of public educational policies reveal both a concern for consulting and dialoguing with indigenous peoples and problems, especially when dealing with ethnic representation and with the practical possibility of indigenous participation in decision-making meetings.

The issues of parity of representation and of increasing the number of Indian representatives in decision-making authorities are among the indigenous claims still waiting for better solutions. A well-succeeded makeshift that should be widespread has been government consultation with indigenous organizations and associations and with Indian teachers (gathered in their regional Meetings) with regard to official projects or documents. This was the case when elaborating the *Referenciais Curriculares Nacionais* [Brazilian Curricula References] for indigenous schools, MEC's official document published in 1998, jointly elaborated by members of universities, Indian teachers, non-governmental organization and members of MEC's Committee for indigenous education.

It is also noteworthy that a restructuring of the Brazilian State as regards attention to the Indian population is being debated, especially with regard to the *Fundação Nacional do Índio* and the *Fundação Nacional de Saúde*. Since no clear, concrete proposal exists or has been put forward, it is still early to give any information.

Indigenous Peoples' Organizations

The political movement of indigenous peoples claiming land, social, cultural and linguistic rights began in the early '70s. The first indigenous organizations (and the pioneer NGOs supporting the indigenous cause) were created in the late '70s. At that time, the legal status of the Indians was that of "partially able", to be assisted by the State, their tutor, in all decisions that might affect their fate. This Indian tutelage or guardianship was under FUNAI's responsibility. At that time, the Brazilian Government followed an integrationist policy, concretely translated in their conception of education for the Indians. One of the consequences of increasing mobilization in defense of indigenous rights in Brazil was the redefinition of this condition, which only came about when the current Federal Constitution was promulgated, in 1988.

Among other rights - as already mentioned above - the Brazilian Constitution acknowledges their full citizenship, the right to maintain their own forms of organization, and to constitute themselves as legal bodies through the creation of associations and organizations. The preservation of indigenous languages, cultures, knowledge and ways of production and transmission of knowledge is also guaranteed. Specific legislation grants them the right to intercultural, bilingual, differentiated and specific school education.

Although the first indigenous organizations did not appear before 1977-78, they rapidly spread after the promulgation of the new Constitution. The first major efforts of political articulation for indigenous peoples began in 1978 and, in the following decade, endeavored to create a national indigenous organization (*União das Nações Indígenas-UNI* [Union of Indigenous Nations]). Owing to the great number of indigenous peoples in Brazil and to their dispersion throughout the vast national territory, to the distance between communities, to communication difficulty, to the diversity (as regards languages, cultures, self-assertion, history, interethnic relation patterns and information on the Brazilian and worldwide society, etc.) and to the incipient nature of the indigenous movement in Brazil, this first initiative was faced with many difficulties. Nonetheless, it played a crucial role in the indigenous mobilization and led to several legal victories in addition to providing important experience for the indigenous movement.

This organization (UNI-*União das Nações Indígena* [Union of Indigenous Nations]) that tackled the authoritarian and integrationist policies of the then military government, was

followed, in increasing number and rhythm, by the formation of local organizations, congregating villages, regions or specific ethnic dwellers. Associations of Indian teachers, of indigenous health workers, of Indian students from different ethnic groups or region. Indigenous organizations are unequally distributed in Brazil and their experience diverges vis a vis length of existence, infrastructure at their disposal, internal organization level and complexity, budget, range and effectiveness, etc. Some are concentrated in Northern Brazil, where strong federations and coordination articulating many specific organizations also exist. This movement, which fostered indigenous organizations with pragmatic finalities usually associated to economical, educational or health-care projects directed to autonomy and self-determination of the indigenous peoples, is still flourishing in Brazil. Every single day brings news of new organizations being created all around the country.

The indigenous movement is intensifying in Brazil: if no more than four indigenous associations and organizations were known in the mid-80s, there were 109 in 1995. A specific survey carried out in April 1999 reported 290 local and regional indigenous organizations. In about 15 years, the number of indigenous organizations and associations thus multiplied by almost 73. They vary a lot as to size and action range: there are village dweller associations (with an average population between 100 and 400 people, as the Monguaguá, Guarani, in formation), representing a local group or community; others are ethnic organizations, representing an indigenous people as a whole or the indigenous peoples of a given region. Some are functionnally specialized and may gather members from more than one ethnic group on territories regionally close: rubber gatherers, teachers, health workers, and peasants. Some are important regional articulations, especially in Northern Brasil such as :

- FOIRN *Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro* [Federation of the Indigenous Organizations from the Rio Negro];
- COIAB *Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira* [Coordination of the Indigenous Organizations from Brazilian Amazon];
- COPIAR-COPIAM *Comissão dos Professores Indígenas doAmazonas e Roraima* [Commission of the Indigenous Teachers fromAmazonas and Roraima]. This organization had its name altered recently to COPIAM-*Coordenação dos Professores Indígenas da*

Amazônia [Coordination of the Indigenous Teachers of Amazonia]), offering wide experience, dense debate and a high degree of organization.

Clear exceptions to that group are the self-defined *specific gender* organizations: Brazil counts on very few indigenous women associations. Out of the 290 indigenous organizations currently operating, no more than 13 are indigenous women associations. The general trend seems to be the predominance of male participation in the associations.

As for their internal structures, it is worth keeping in mind, on the one hand, current diversity; and, on the other hand, both the legal constraints requiring the definition of statutes as well as the creation of Boards of Directors with such positions as Presidents, Secretaries, Financial Managers, etc., and the establishment of procedures regarding functions, representativeness, mandates and the general goals of the association. This kind of organization is very distant from indigenous organizations and from the decision-making processes common common at the community level. It demands training, experience and creativity. Indigenous experimentation with this type of organization in Brazil is still in progress, and again, diversity is the rule.

Important issues, under intense debate, mainly in the newer associations, are their operational organization model as compared to the internal political structure of the concerned ethnic group or village (authority of the elder *versus* preparation - through bilingualism, knowing how to read and write and having access to information about the non-indigenous world - of the youth, among other aspects) and their political representation in accordance with Western patterns of democracy.

Participation in the process of creating and maintaining such associations involves an embedded educational aspect. Although informally conducted, the political and economical projects include the participation of Indian adults and younths in interinstitutional meetings and debates, the writing of documents and texts, in addition to dealing with justice and court, etc., all of which offer increasingly educative situations that are at the very core of adult education for indigenous peoples in Brazil.

PROGRAMMES FOR ADULT EDUCATION

National Programmes

In addition to elaborating the legislation and defining the public education policy, in its broadest sense, federal activities in the field of adult education for the indigenous peoples focus mainly on the empowerment of indigenous staff and on the production of didactic materials in their native languages. They develop mainly along the following lines:

- Definition of guidelines and curricula parameters for the indigenous schools, in accordance with the constitutional precepts, to reinforce a differentiated, specific, intercultural and bilingual education.

- Project coordinators meetings and gatherings aimed at exchanging experiences, divulging decision and acquainting state and municipal secretaries'staff with indigenous school education.

- Funding and supervision of both empowerment and continuous training projects for Indian teachers and health agents, during which new educational materials are produced.

- Funding and supervision of specific projects for the production and systematization of indigenous knowledge in such different areas as health, geography, botany, zoology, history, and literature.

- Funding and distribution of publications to be used as materials in indigenous schools. Funds transfer to the departments, NGOs and others, through yearly project approval. Funds either go directly to the project coordinators or are transferred to state and municipal education departments.

In the field of adult education for indigenous peoples, at a national level, no federal programmes go beyond the elaboration of pedagogical guidelines and the funding above described. The information gathered reveals there is no *gender specific* programme, either. Both the National Health Foundation - FNS- and FUNAI work at national level but act locally, through partnerships.

The states sphere of activity mainly focuses on the execution of projects for Indian teacher training or indigenous health agents training, partially funded by federal grants (Ministry of Education, National Health Foundation or FUNAI, to a lesser extent) and partially by states grants. Municipal activities usually include paying salaries to the indigenous school teachers, catering for the meals and school materials. As far as we know, there are no current significant municipal programmes of adult education for indigenous peoples.

Indigenous Programmes

Out of 290 indigenous organizations in Brazil, no more than around 5% work explicitly and mainly in the field of education. Although some Indian teachers associations exist and some indigenous students attending school in urban centers, outside the indigenous lands of their peoples, have formed their own organizations, there seems to be no indigenous organizations or associations specifically dedicated to adult education. The main concerns are indigenous school education in general, research and the possibilities of producing good quality school education, adequate to the specificity and claims of the indigenous peoples, that both reinforce their right to be themselves and favor their access to the western technologies and knowledge.

The movement for intercultural, bilingual, differentiated and specific indigenous education is very recent in Brazil (especially in the scale and pace in which it is currently taking place). For this reason, the issues in debate concern as broad subjects: local definitions for the role and function of school in an indigenous environment, the production of proper didactic materials, the status of Brazilian language and indigenous language(s) in the alphabetization process, and so on.

This is why, as mentioned above, youth and adult education becomes effective mainly through Indian teachers or other professional staff training programmes (especially in the fields

of health and self-sustained development, but also in those of accounting, communication and project management, that attract the literate youth who speak Portuguese, the contact language, among whom are Indians).

Although the indigenous teachers are diversely educated, most of them received relatively poor education and work in the village schools while training for the teacher credential. A substantial effort to empower teachers has been made in the last years, through specific projects, usually managed by various institutions, with various degrees of efficiency as regards the principles of intercultural, bilingual education. The results vary a lot.

Contrasting to the federal action in this area, adult education projects are elaborated within the indigenous organizations (or by them) and in the indigenous communities themselves. This involves the participation of the local population which is better informed of the needs and functions locally attributed to education and better qualified to propose creative innovations aimed at a differentiated education. They may count on federal grants to partially cover their needs (MEC and FUNAI, mainly) but mostly depend on grants from national and/or international NGOs.

This general framework, briefly outlined here, underlines the importance taken by the linguistic, anthropological, pedagogical, medical,economical, political advisors in projects for the autonomy of organizations and specific indigenous communities. For this reason, the action of NGOs, universities and progressive religious missions with their advisors and consultants are relevant to the organized indigenous movement in Brazil. During the last four years, these groups have also played a significant role in assisting in the elaboration of specific legislation (although most of it is still awaiting enactment), in the definition of public education policies, and in the elaboration of official documents to steer and establish guidelines for an indigenous schooling in the country. Since the government's general dispositions and the indigenous people claims are not always compatible, this movement has not always been peaceful. Notwithstanding, the experience in differentiated education and intercultural, bilingual project to train staff in indigenous environment, effected through NGOs and indigenous organizations, usually supplies most of the references that have been assisting the government.

At the level of the indigenous organizations that deal with differentiated education and Indian teachers training, we should mention, among others, the COPIAM (ex-COPIAR) and the FOIRN

(already referred to above). In addition to having promoted, for various years, periodic meetings of a great number of Amazonian indigenous teachers in order to study, reflect, assess the educational experiences in progress and take a stand, they maintain publications, courses and own assistance. Data gathered in the course of this research show that this type of action by indigenous orgasnizations will increase significantly in the coming years.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT PROJECTS IN ADULT EDUCATION

The questionnaires answered describe a situation characterized by great diversity not only as regards experience, methods and goals, and projects continuity, but also with regard to how much the Indians know about their own educational rights and how mature their reflection or experience with school education is.

It is worth noting that, as a dominant trend, most projects are managed through multi-institutional and interethnic coordinations, even when they are indigenous organization programmes, and are usually undertaken with the assistance of NGOs, universities or religious missions and their lay collaborators.

Bilingualism and interculturality

The data compiled in the questionnaires highlight a widespread adhesion to the intercultural bilingual education model as the goal to be reached. Discursive homogeneity and a pedagogically and politically quite consensual conception prevail in the answers to the questionnaires. Hence community participation is highly valued with regard to the design, organization and implementation of the educational projects; the definition of the goals and curricula for each indigenous school; the respect of indigenous forms of social organization and concept of time as well as the cosmological conceptions of each indigenous people.

The majority of the projects underway in Brazil still depend on strong external assistance from professional, university researchers, missionaries (both lay and religious) and non-Indian indigenist specialists, whose motivations and training also vary greatly. The specific knowledge of such assistants on the language, society and cosmology of the peoples with whom they work

thus varies greatly, as well as the influence their institutional insertion may exert on the way they comprehend adult education, the indigenous social movement and the place of Indians in the country's present and future.

Despite these difficulties, all of the projects that supplied data for this research are committed to the attainment of indigenous autonomy and the respect for indigenous peoples' right to manage their own lands, resources and plans for the future as well as the maintenance of their differentiated identities. They also conceive education as both a means to meet these ends and to help indigenous peoples establish fairer relationships with the rest of the Brazilian and international societies. With this aim in view, their prioritized values are the preservation of differentiated indigenous cultures, identities and languages, together with the access to information, empowerment and western world specific skills such as knowledge on how to elaborate projects, obtain funding and keep accounting records to meet funding agencies' requirements, master IT and access information on sustained development techniques and on economical, social and political alternatives for a future worthy of the indigenous peoples in Brazil. Under this conception, the differentiated, bilingual and intercultural indigenous education in general and the Indian adult education in particular emerge as a privileged space to reach those goals.

It is worth highlighting that the questionnaires were only answered by institutions and organizations - be they governmental, non-governmental, religious, or, obviously, indigenous committed with these ideas. Contacts with such groups as SIL - Summer Institute of Linguistics - or other evangelizing missions active in Brazil were attempted, but they did not supply any piece of information solicited by this research. We had no responses, which is undoubtedly very eloquent, since many widely and significantly represented evangelizing missions working with specific indigenous populations (especially in Amazonas) are opposed to the indigenous cultural autonomy and diversity. In fact, as they follow the bilingual transition model associated to evangelization, they go against the tide of Brazilian mainstream.

Language Issues

In contrast to the rest of Latin America where indigenous peoples constitute a peasantry (*campesinato*) and where a certain linguistic homogeneity exists, the Brazilian indigenous peoples correspond to under 2% of the national population and encompass a multiplicity of own languages exclusively spoken within specific indigenous groups. The Brazilian peasantry is comprised of non-indigenous Portuguese speaking communities. The official language, Portuguese, is also preferred as a daily contact language between Indians and non-Indians, at regional and national levels. However, the symbolic and political usage of indigenous languages in formal contexts of political negotiations and in mass communication events does exist as a means of affirming differentiated indigenous identities and the vitality of their cultural and linguistic production vis-á-vis the national and international public opinion. However, the substantive message of these discourses has to be translated into Portuguese to be understood. National schools intended for the non-Indian population do not offer any indigenous languages as second languages and these are completely ignored in the courses of Portuguese where the country's socio-linguistic situation is discussed. On the contrary, a deep ignorance of the linguistic and cultural richness and diversity of the indigenous peoples prevail together with much prejudice.

Out of the 1300 indigenous languages existing throughout Brazil when it was conquered by the Europeans, only 180 are still spoken. The ones that are better known and studied by linguists have been classified in four groups: the Tupi linguistic trunk, the Macro-Jê trunk, the Aruak linguistic family and the Karib family. In addition to that classification, many other native languages have not yet been sufficiently studied to be properly classified in trunks or even families. This means that some linguistic families have already been identified but not yet classified whereas some languages are considered as isolated. As the linguistic studies widen and deepen, it will probably be possible to document the historical, structural, semantic, lexical and phonological relationships among them, to construct a more comprehensive and accurate classificatory framework.

This research surveyed education projects for adults intended for communities speaking approximately 75 different native languages. The linguistic trunks represented are the Macro-Jê (with its constituting families: Jê,Bororo, Karajá, Maxacali, Botocudo, Rikbaktsa and Yatê) and the Tupi (including the Tupi-Guarani, Arikém, Juruna, Mondé, Munduruku, Ranarama, Tupari,

Aweti and Mawé families) whereas the linguistic families are Karib, Aruak, Tukáno, Pano, Yanonami, Arawá, Nambikwara, Txapakura, Katukina. This research also identified the following among the families composed of a sole language: Aiakaná, Irantxe, Jabuti, Trumái and Tikuna.

Furthermore, information about various Portuguese-speaking indigenous peoples, nowadays monolingual, which have had long and intense contacts with non-indigenous populations are compiled here. Peoples dwelling especially in northeastern and southeastern Brazil lost the usage and memory of their native languages owing to contact processes that led them to conceal their indigenous identity. An intense reassumption process of this differentiated identity, together with the political mobilization of these peoples in support of their rights in the Brazilian society has been under way mainly since the late '70s. Curiously enough, in their eagerness to be acknowledged as Indians by the Brazilian government and thus to see their rights to lands and other rights acknowledged, some of these peoples sought to learn other indigenous languages, with neighboring peoples, which they have maintained.

This diversity of the sociolinguistic situations and degrees of scientific knowledge about indigenous languages in Brazil is reflected in the adult education projects. Although the legislation and the social movement for indigenous rights agree to recommend the usage of the native languages in the indigenous teachers training courses, this is only possible in the few cases of specific projects relying on specialized linguistic advisors with university degrees and research experience. In spite of this, in the education projects for adults considered in this research almost 100% of the responders explicitly declare their agreement to the legislation's terms, which emphasize the right of the indigenous population to a bilingual, intercultural, differentiated and specific education, as the principles steering their practice. But in practice linguistic difficulties make this goal difficult.

Generally speaking, estimates indicate that most courses are taught in Portuguese with the presence of indigenous languages in varying degrees and contexts, frequently translated by and to the Indian participants. This can be explained by the linguistic gap that frequently lies between assistants, that do not speak the indigenous languages (though there are some exceptions) and Indian teacher-students under training who may either be bilingual to various extents or, possibly, only speak their mother tongue. Thus, although they are present in the classrooms, indigenous languages are seldom used in teaching, and Portuguese usually prevails.

Indian teachers currently under training roughly constitute the first generation, however many older indigenous people, with professional training and experience as bilingual teachers or health agents may also partake in the current training courses. They are also involved not only in the indigenous movement but also in party policies and local governments. A significant example of this situation is that of Gersem Baniwa, teacher, and nowadays Secretary of the Education of the municipal Government of the city of São Gabriel of the Cachoeira, *município* in the Amazonas whose population is mainly (95%) indigenous.

In the current training courses for Indian adults, classes are usually heterogeneous with regard to how much the trainees master either their mother tongues or Portuguese. Nevertheless, one of the most widespread activities in the Indian adults training courses is the elaboration of texts and books that will be later used as specific didactic material in the village schools attended by children and teenagers. This material is preferably written in the mother tongues of the adult being trained. Currently, Brazil has a significant production of educational books in indigenous languages, which both reflect current social practices and the systematic studies of geography, indigenous languages, mathematics, sciences, etc. carried out during the training courses. So, whenever possible, classes are taught in indigenous languages and some courses in the indigenous languages have resulted.

In the training courses for indigenous teachers or health agents Portugueseis valued highly:

It is important *firstly* to reinforce the studies by Indians in non-indigenous schools in more advanced levels of teaching (not only as for technical colleges and university but also, in many cases, for the final years of elementary school, not offered in the village schools); and *secondly* to guarantee the access of the Indians to relevant information that may help them build their autonomy in the economical, political, social and cultural fields. The indigenous movement, the organization of local associations, the elaboration of economically sustainable projects, the search for economical and social alternatives for dignified survival, the knowledge of the constitutional rights acknowledged to the Indians, the formulation of their own claims, etc, are among things that require that they master Portuguese well.

As for the internal political life in the villages, nonetheless, in some cases this may result in a gap between the generation of young teachers and health agents who possess such knowledge that allows them to easily get around the "white man's" world and the standards of traditional authority, based on the knowledge and power of the elders, usually excluded from the training courses. To overcome this problem, some projects now begin to provide educational activities for elders, to enable them to benefit from information and skills so that their traditional authority is not questioned by the new educated generations..

Gender Issues

The questionnaires brought forward very little accurate data concerning the relative proportion of men and women partaking in education programmes for adults. Broadly speaking, nonetheless, it may be affirmed that the programmes are mainly attended by men. Some regions register female participation, but male presence is massive in these programmes. This is also aggravated by the prevailing indigenous perception that remunerated positions as those of teachers, health agents or forestry technicians, whose functions are performed within the indigenous lands are politically significant. These positions and access to the training courses have been the widely contested among the political groups within each village or indigenous populations. The more powerful factions in the political scene within each people or locality usually have better success in enrolling their members in the educational programmes. Although women do participate in the political forces, this is a symbolic field socially associated with men, for the wide majority of the indigenous peoples of Brazil. It seems that in indigenous communities that have had longer time of contact, indigenous women have a wider participation in the education programmes for adults.

On the other hand, these programmes' curricula reflect *community* concerns and needs, with a view to the these populations' future; they also disseminate, among the Indians, information about their legally acknowledged rights, discuss their current problems, reaffirm the value of their practices and traditional conceptions and reinforce their right to changes and autonomy. Broadly speaking, one may affirm that, although reduced, there is space for gender issues in the curricula of the mentioned programmes. This discussion seems to be in its early stages in the field of Indian adult education in Brazil.

CONCLUSIONS

In the general framework of indigenous school education in Brazil, two points should be highlighted: firstly, a huge gap lies between legislation and the implementation of indigenous educational rights, and much still needs to be enforced and done. Secondly, both the debate and educational activities are seen as "indigenous school education", in a broad sense, and involve teachers, health workers or other professional indigenous adult training courses. There has been, so far, no systematic reflection or mature claims directly aimed at "adult education for indigenous peoples".

We would like to stress the necessity of widening the linguistic research, since many indigenous languages are not yet adequately documented. No more than a few projects are currently conducted which involve Indian trainee teachers working on the homogenization of their respective language spelling, for school and literary use.

On the other hand, some Brazilian indigenous peoples do not want schooling in their own languages. They prefer literacy in Portuguese, as a contact language. Other peoples do not accept the idea of a universal schooling of their members. These peoples' claims are firm and express a deep, well-developed reflection. This kind of information does not, obviously, appear in the questionnaires, but it is extremely relevant to assess adult education for indigenous peoples in Brazil, in the framework of a wider intercultural, bilingual, differentiated and specific education in which it is inserted. What we want to stress here is the fact indigenous peoples who adopt this stance have their own educational policies, stressing the community itself - instead of the school - as the major educational promoter for young people. As for adult education, this is what these policies do stress, as schooling is seen as a means for selected adults in the community to access information and capabilities of the western world in order to use them to the benefit of the whole indigenous grouop to which they belong. Although different from the mainstream claim for a bilingual education which artriculates native and scientific, Western knowledges, stands such as these are to be taken into full consideration and respected as an expression of specific indigenous peoples wisdom and as proof of self-determination. The latter brings about the distinction between education and culture, widespread in most current indigenous claims and discourses on schooling. The position, taken by experienced indigenous teachers and village leaders or elders,

is that the school be developed under the guidance of the local Indian community, not competing with it or taking its place in the formation of new generations. Conflicting values of indigenous ethos and cultures and western ones (expressed by the school as an institution external to indigenous life), such as individualism, should be dealt with in indigenous schools in such a way that traditional conceptions and modes of social relationship prevail in the education of children and youth. All this relates directly to indigenous teachers training courses and their practice as professionals. The same kind of reasoning might be extended to health agents training courses and practice.

The involvement of all levels of governmental actions with indigenous education and with the training of adult Indian professionals - although very positive in principle, as a long-time claim of native peoples - might lead to an imposition of certain rigid "bilingual and intercultural models" of indigenous education in contrast to specific, local indigenous conceptions of schoolimg and education. The tense relationship between national policies and macro-level recommendations and the singularities and diversity of local situations demands constant and careful monitoring in the coming years.

Policies reinforcing specific training and making anthropological knowledge widely known among the governmental agencies' staff following up and officially sanctioning indigenous school education programmes emerge as first priorities. This would seem to constitute a solid basis for the understanding and acceptance of original and creative indigenous projects and conceptions of education to come through official recognition.

Another urgent need is to guarantee indigenous parity and efficient representation in those organizations in charge of defining and implementing projects. At a local level, the notion that the indigenous communities are mainly responsible for decisions regarding both curricula, methods, goals, contents definition, etc. and even the very presence of schools and teachers still needs much reinforcement. This is the only way to effectively transform education for adults into an instrument of indigenous autonomy, which is vital to formulate projects for the future of each indigenous group, within the specificities of their lifestyles, cultures and visions of the world.

At government level, including specific budget items for indigenous education, with special funding for adult education, is as urgent as raising the amounts available for these programmes, which are currently quite inadequate.Increasing budget allocations to publish systematically all

materials in indigenous languages is also necessary. As for non-governmental actions, more indigenous initiatives are desirable and expected in the field of adult

Massacres of indigenous groups and leaders, disrespect of Indian rights, land problems, severe health situations and poor care, lack of economic alternatives and assistanceship, prejudice and racism are at the basis of some dramatic conditions still experienced by certain Indian peoples and individuals in Brazil. We must continue to denounce those threats to Indian survival in the country, which persist side by side with major advances in fields such as education.